

USERS GREAT RELIEF SEEN FOR BRITISH ISLES

Tremendous Concessions Made by Both Sides to Effect Peace.

FIGHTING 700 YEARS

Deep Aversion to Return to Old Conditions Determining Factor.

LAST STRUGGLE FIERCE

Advent of Black and Tans and Work Here Marked Last Stages.

By JOHN M'HEUG STUART, London Correspondent of The New York Herald.

There can be little doubt but that the terms of settlement of the seven hundred year old Irish problem announced to-night will meet with the approval of the vast majority of the people of the British Isles and of Ireland in particular. Each side has made tremendous concessions in detail to the other. Yet each side can go to its own people and say that the settlement impairs none of the essential principles upon which the negotiators were empowered to act.

The Irish Free State is given general powers over Ireland. But the interests of Ulster, with special emphasis on religious, educational and economic matters, and carefully safeguarded in detail. From information obtained but ten days ago in London from the most influential persons in Ulster it seems likely that in one or other of the ways provided in the document now published Ulster will add her signature to the agreement before long.

It is the best Sinn Fein opinion that Ulster will see her wisest path lies toward close union with southern Ireland. There is little or no opinion in the south in favor of coercing Ulster either by force of arms or economic pressure. Many Ulster business men and bankers have admitted frankly that they see the wisdom of this. With the specific safeguards for Ulster's religious and educational systems it is believed in both parts of Ireland that these business men will carry the day.

Feared Reversion to War. The determining factor in the whole negotiations was the unwillingness of the 1916 leaders to return to a kind of fighting that has made Ireland a nightmare for the last two years. The development of that fighting may be traced as follows: from the Easter rising of 1916 and the execution of Padraig Pearse and his colleagues.

Though a hill in Irish activism followed the arrest, execution and imprisonment of the 1916 leaders, the British Government found it could not keep these political prisoners permanently in captivity. When Eamon de Valera, who had gained celebrity for his leadership of the Irish forces against the British in 1916, escaped from Lincoln gaol nearly three years later, the final phase of the fight for Irish freedom was said to have commenced.

Other leaders were released about the same time and the young men of Ireland who had neither emigrated nor enlisted in the British forces during the war began to flock around them. There can be no doubt of the implication of many of these Irish leaders in German plots. They frankly admit this and say that they would have "made an all-out effort" to help Germany in the fighting against England at that time.

The phraseology of the Wilson fourteen points flew through Ireland. They, with Cardinal Mercier's declarations that the Belgians were not in a position to respect or obey except in so far as they were compelled by the rule of the German invader formed the twin bases of internal and external Irish propaganda and the plea of the Irish-American delegates to the peace conference in Paris, where they were not heard.

Self-Determination Wins.

But the whole movement was made cohesive at the general election in the British Parliament in 1918. While Lloyd George was sweeping the rest of the British Isles in this "backsliding" election on a platform of making Germany pay and hanging the Kaiser, Sinn Fein had placed candidates in the field in every Parliamentary constituency in Ireland and pledged to self-determination for Ireland. Eighty per cent of them were elected.

But the movement became formally a Republican one—and this is important in view of the present abandonment of the Republican claim—only at the first meeting of these Irish members in 1918. They were elected in Dublin growing daily seats at Westminster, and they met in Dublin. They decided to demand independence and it was only in a quiet, casual and almost accidental way that the Republican form was adopted at that meeting for the provisional government then established, with De Valera at its head. This incident explains De Valera's significant reference at the first open meeting of the Dail Eirinn during the truce to the effect that "we are not Republican doctrinaires."

In 1918 and 1919, with De Valera raising large sums of money in America and with the organizers of the independent government in Dublin growing daily, the British Government had to take cognizance of its new importance. Repressive police measures were inaugurated and the Sinn Fein and Dail organizations with their branches and many forms of their patriotic and political activities were proscribed by executive orders under the wartime powers for the Defence of the Realm.

These orders were sought to be enforced by the old Royal Irish Constabulary and that was the beginning of the warfare now ended. The members of the old R. I. C. were all Irishmen and they knew every man, woman and child in their districts. It was easy for them to identify and arrest and punish those connected with the proscribed activities. As "peace" dawned in the enforcement of police regulations the police had always been good naturedly detested by his Irish brethren. As the agent of a political force he became not only a mortal enemy but, in Irish eyes, a traitor.

Most of the R. I. C. stuck to their duty and paid for it with their lives, for

King George Overjoyed at 'Splendid News'

LONDON, Dec. 6.—King George telegraphed Prime Minister Lloyd George this afternoon the royal congratulations on the reaching of the Irish agreement. The message read: "I am overjoyed to hear the splendid news you have just sent me. I congratulate you with all my heart on the successful termination of these difficult and protracted negotiations, which is due to the patience and conciliatory spirit which you have shown throughout. I am indeed happy in some small way to have contributed by my speech in Belfast to this great achievement."

Sinn Fein decided rightly or wrongly that their lives were traitorously forfeit. These men were deliberately killed off in a long series of horrifying shootings. Irish spokesmen always insisted that their ambushes of parties of police were legitimate warfare which any Belgian during the German occupation might have been proud of and that in cases where individual police officers were shot down each individual had had a "fair trial" on a charge of treason or spying.

At first these killings provoked scattered reprisals on the part of the police. But the old police were soon either wiped out or reduced to impotence. In July, 1920, Sinn Fein was practically running all Ireland. The King's writ no longer ran. Sinn Fein courts and Sinn Fein police operated openly and Sinn Fein officials could be seen any day on the streets or in their offices in Dublin, while British officials were practical prisoners in Dublin Castle. It was at this point that the Government decided to "give the Irish a dose of their own medicine." In August, 1920, the London papers carried advertisements for the call to arms, preferably officers with good military records, to serve for a pound a day and expenses in a special force in Ireland. The Government did not take into consideration the fact that the post war boom was at its peak in England at that time and only the least desirable ex-service men responded to the call. They reached Ireland without uniforms or equipment and were served out what came to hand, part of it khaki and part of it dark, almost black green of the police—hence the Black and Tans.

Black and Tan Killings.

With the Government's desire to "give Ireland a dose of her own medicine" these men were in perfect accord. There were no set-backs or burnings of towns, indiscriminate shootings and deliberate killings by the forces of the crown in which may be listed the burning and looting of Balbriggan, Listowel and other towns, the killing of the Mayor of Cork and Limerick and the accidental deaths in street fighting of many women and children.

It was at this point that the influence of American opinion began to be very effective in Irish affairs. American correspondents poured into Ireland and without exception did not hesitate to attribute outrages to the forces of the crown when they had real proof that they were guilty. English correspondents quite naturally hesitated to accept even positive proof against their own forces. But British statesmen who knew how American opinion was being influenced began to take serious notice, particularly after the inauguration of President Harding at Washington last spring and the knowledge that new policy with regard to Ireland was not an impossibility.

It was in this state of political feeling and with both Ireland and England in a thoroughly sick of the horrors of warfare that Martin H. Glynn of New York came to London and met Mr. Lloyd George, spending several hours with him in his office in the House of Commons. Mr. Lloyd George had already said publicly that he would meet any Irishman who could deliver the goods, bringing only men known to be guilty of crime.

Mr. Glynn's Talk Bore Fruit.

After Mr. Glynn had talked to him of American views on the situation in Ireland Mr. Lloyd George made his first offer to meet the Irish leaders without any conditions. That message I carried to Dublin and gave to Mr. De Valera, and the contact then established has now borne fruit.

It has been known in London for many weeks that substantial agreement on many points had been reached in the course of the Downing street negotiations and finally it became apparent that complete agreement as to principles had been attained. The negotiations then became a long drawn out and carefully played game to get the result presented in such a fashion that the three political faces in England, Ireland and Ulster might be saved despite their apparently widely divergent aspects.

It has long been known that the vast majority of persons in both England and Ireland were against a renewal of hostilities. Each side used the threat of a renewal to bring their own recalcitrants into line. Apparently both succeeded until Monday afternoon when something happened and Mr. Lloyd George went to see the King. It was known in London that this was the last resort. The King had made the first open appeal for peace in Ireland in the spring. His determination to stop the killing of his people in Ireland was no figure of speech, according to trustworthy information in London. It seems likely that it was fear of denunciation from the throne, a punishment which no Briton relies upon in these republican days, that brought the Irish recalcitrants into line and will yet make the settlement arrived at effective.

ARMENIANS IN CILICIA SAFE, SAYS FERID BEY

Envoy in Paris Says Turks Won't Hurt Christians.

Special Cable to THE NEW YORK HERALD, Copyright, 1921, by THE NEW YORK HERALD.

New York Herald Bureau, Paris, Dec. 6.

"Armenians and other Christians have nothing whatever to fear. All we wish is to be peaceful with all the world and to get to work and rebuild our fortunes lost in ten years of war."

With those words Ferid Bey, Envoy of the Ankara Government, who has just arrived in Paris, dismissed the fears expressed in America about the fate of the Christian minorities after the French evacuation of Cilicia, as a result of the arrangement concluded between France and the Ankara Government.

"So long as they do not mix in political movements directed against the Government," he continued, "the minorities will be treated exactly the same as the Mohammedans and as they have been for six centuries past. The Armenian population of Adana does not exceed 60,000, the great majority of whom are peaceful stockbreeders. Others, numbering perhaps 2,000 in all, who dreamed of establishing an Armenian hegemony, already have left, fearing their deserved punishment."

ENGLISH PRESS IS FILLED WITH JOY

Settlement Heartily Indorsed, an Exception Being London 'Morning Post.'

LLOYD GEORGE VICTORY

American Newspapers in Applauding Result Extend Congratulations.

LONDON, Dec. 7 (Wednesday).—The Daily Mail, heartily indorsing the settlement between the Government and the Dail Eirinn, assumes that Ulster approved, declaring that unless the arrangement was agreeable to Ulster "we cannot suppose the Government would have made their welcome announcement."

The Manchester Guardian characterizes the settlement as a splendid achievement, reflecting the utmost credit for the patience and reasonableness of the negotiators, and that "it may frankly be admitted that only a coalition of the great Government parties could have carried it through." This newspaper expresses the hope that Ulster, for its own sake, will come into the agreement, but says that whether it does or does not, Ireland is secure and will certainly in due course include the whole of the Irish territory.

"Wherever our tongue is spoken," says the Daily Telegraph, referring to the Irish agreement, "the news will be heard with heartfelt joy and thankfulness. The event is the greatest that has happened in the internal affairs of this country for generations. The dignity of the Throne and the security and integrity of the empire are not compromised. Therefore we view the signing of the treaty as a supreme event."

The Times, declaring that the settlement is "one of the greatest achievements in our imperial history," says that the proposals, framed with far-sightedness, reduce the whole problem of Ireland to manageable proportions. It contends that Britain has gone to lengths of generosity which the Sinn Fein delegates regarding the position of Ulster proved themselves courageous statesmen.

"Instead of pursuing the shadow of Ulster," says the Times, "they played boldly the hand of the future. They have a complete reply to any allegation that they consented to the partition of their country. The scheme to which they assented brings Irish union at an early date into the field of practical politics."

The Daily News greets the treaty with enthusiasm. It foresees difficulty with Ulster, but says that with Sinn Fein extremists, but that when the British Government formally indorsed this agreement it did the thing which makes any return to the policy of force in Ireland an impossibility.

The Morning Post is again almost the single exception to the chorus of press rejoicing at the Irish settlement. The Post says:

"Never before has the British Government qualified before armed rebellion and organized assassination. These things are the more remarkable because they have been done not with impunity but with the acquiescence of public men of commanding aspect and with a large measure of general approval, or, at least, of absence of protest on the part of the people."

The Post attributes this to "the fatal heritage of the war" and the fact that a tired Government is trying to administer the affairs of a tired people, which would sacrifice nearly everything for peace and quiet.

The Daily Chronicle compares the provisions with the famous offer of the Government in July. It says the most noticeable withdrawal is that of the claim for free trade between all parts of the islands, in view of the Southern Irishman's strong theoretic leanings to protection.

"Though it is obvious that every practicable concession had been made to the Sinn Feiners' wishes and susceptibilities," the Chronicle adds, "yet we believe the essentials in the military, naval and aerial clauses will be found sufficiently covered."

IRISH SETTLEMENT STIRS N. Y. PRAISE

Local Editorial Comment Analyzes Situation.

Extracts from editorials in newspapers of New York and other cities follow:

The New York World.—In the recognition of the Irish Free State the Sinn Fein obtains for Ireland not merely the full rights of self-government for Ireland but the substance of national independence. On the issue of the freedom of Ireland to set up its own tariff system the Sinn Fein delegates also gained their point, while admitting the obvious advantage of maintaining free trade with the British Empire. Over its financial Ireland will have absolute control, but in fairness it binds itself to an adjustment of the British national debt and war expenditures.

In this Irish settlement the British Government has gone far beyond the proposals laid down by Premier Lloyd George in his correspondence with Mr. De Valera, and the Sinn Fein delegates also have receded from their extreme claims to full independence. It is an agreement by compromise on details but resting always on the fundamental principle of Irish nationality and Irish self-government.

The New York Times.—Sinn Fein is to be master in its own house. But the Irish Parliament is not to be master in Ulster without Ulster's consent. Moreover, the Irish Free State is to be a loyal component part of the British Empire, agreeing to accept certain imperial limitations and obligations. Ulster may go her own way the she chooses, but it is evident that great inducements will be held out to her to persuade her to cast in her lot with the rest of Ireland. Irish taxation will be much lower

than English, and if Ulster insists upon representation in the Parliament at Westminster she will have to pay high for the privilege. Thus the long drawn negotiation ends by a process of give and take. Sinn Fein has abandoned its last extreme position. On the other hand, the British Government did not stickle over mere forms when it was setting the substance. The whole is a striking tribute to the sincerity and good sense of the delegates on both sides.

"One almost feels like pausing to drop a tear over those who will feel like so many Othellos with their occupation gone, after the Irish question is settled. Particularly will some politicians in this country lament that their source of sensation and even of livelihood has cruelly been taken from them. But such personal sacrifices are necessary when the general good demands it. And nothing can really abate the deep satisfaction with which the entire world will receive the news that at last English political genius has found a way to put an end to the evils in the relations of Ireland to England that have existed for more than 700 years."

The New York Tribune.—It is inaccurate to say that there is any victory over southern Ireland. Its leaders have merely bowed to the inevitable facts of the situation. The British Government has all along made it plain that it would not consent to Irish secession and northeastern Ireland has made it equally plain that it would not surrender its liberty of action. The attitude of northeastern Ireland will be a constant waiting. The typical Ulsterman before he votes to marry Celtic Ireland will want to see what sort of housekeeper is the hard-headed Ulsterman. He sees as plainly as others the practical disadvantages of dissociation from the remainder of Ireland, but business isn't everything, and the Ulsterman will want to be shown that the Sinn Fein can be trusted to try to coerce Ulster by boycotts and the like.

In America, except among the professional who have long kept themselves fat on the avails of Irish agitation, the settlement will, of course, be most welcome. It holds out hope that at last America's own affairs are not to be neglected in order to satisfy the rights and wrongs of the Irish question.

The Detroit Free Press.—While it would be utterly foolish to prophesy, it seems probable to conclude on the overwhelming public sentiment both in the British Empire and throughout the world generally as an influence that will bring about a happy consummation of the rapprochement and settlement begun. Opinion everywhere is going to require the ratification of the agreement and if either side dares become responsible for its failure, the other will have on pretty complete loss of world sympathy. Civilization demands an end of the age long Irish trouble.

Pittsburgh Dispatch.—The way is open for a united and autonomous nation, an Irish Free State embracing the entire island, if and when the two sections can be brought together. The Irish people, he said, were the final judges of the results of the London negotiations and he did not believe the Irish people would consent to anything less than "complete independence." In the event a referendum was taken, which he assumed would be the case.

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